

Preface

The ethnographic research which is the basis for this community study was conducted in Taiwan over a period of sixteen months during 1957-1958. Except for some demographic data for the village which were gathered from 1959 records, all the data are from not later than the end of 1958. This book, then, will present a picture of the village community as it was up to and through the period of 1957-1958, although the village has undoubtedly changed in some respects in the intervening years. 114 [127]

All Chinese words used throughout the book are in the Mandarin, rather than in the local Taiwanese (Min-nan) language, and are romanized in the Wade-Giles system. Most Chinese terms used can be found in the glossary. If a Chinese word appears in the text only once and is immediately explained there, it does not appear in the glossary of Chinese Words. 104

My field research was first reported as a Ph.D. dissertation at Cornell University in September, 1961. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Professors Robert J. Smith, Knight Biggerstaff, Lauriston Sharp, Harold Shadick, and Morris E. Opler for their constant stimulation, guidance, support, and encouragement throughout my graduate training and fieldwork. Additional thanks are due Professor Smith, who so generously gave of his time and energy in the supervision of the dissertation, and to Joyce Lewis Kornbluh for her valuable editorial assistance. 114 128

The Ford Foundation, through its Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program, provided the funds which made possible the generous period of research and some additional time for analysis of the data. For this I am extremely grateful. 122

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[128] Shao-hsing, a sociologist at National Taiwan University who was so helpful in his comments on my demographic data, but who more importantly, provided me with help and deepened my understanding of Taiwanese life. My wife and I owe thanks to our good friends Wang Chung-lu and his wife Nieh Hua-ling, who were so helpful in orienting us to life in Taiwan, to Mr. and Mrs. Lu Kuo-hwa of Taipei, and to Dr. Howard S. Levy, then of the American Embassy Chinese Language School in Taichung, and Virginia Warick Levy, who through their friendship and kindness did so much to make our stay in Taiwan a pleasant one.

124 My sincere appreciation goes to Mr. Lai Chin-tun (Jerry Lai), my Taiwanese language interpreter and friend whose warmth of personality, patience, understanding, and loyalty did so much to make the village research a success.

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000 The book could never have been written without the full cooperation of the people of Hsin Hsing village who so willingly took us into their midst and shared their lives with us. To them go my warmest respect, appreciation, and indebtedness.

Finally, I owe much to my family. To my parents and brothers for their years of understanding and support of my desire to follow my own interests, I am very grateful. Most important, my deepest gratitude goes to my wife, Rita Schlesinger Gallin, for her fullest participation in the fieldwork, her immeasurable efforts and help in the preparation of the dissertation, and finally of this book, and for her never-ending patience, understanding, and encouragement.

Michigan State University
June, 1965

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1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The Setting

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In any community study there is always the question of where to begin outlining the picture of village life; on what does one focus first? While the question is perhaps just as urgent during the actual fieldwork, in the field it is possible to observe and ask questions on many subjects at the same time and to move from one subject to another in the course of an interview. But in attempting to put the ethnography down on paper, the decision must be made where to begin.

I have chosen to begin this book as I began my fieldwork—with a general picture of village life that will provide a context which can give meaning to particular aspects of village life. This picture will be followed in Chapters 3 and 4 by a description of the village livelihood, although it has perhaps been more common to begin Chinese ethnographies with a discussion of family and kinship (see Chapters 5 and 6). The importance of the economic sphere in Hsin Hsing is explicit in the very purposes of this book as noted in Chapter 1 and the conclusions of Chapter 9; its importance was implicit throughout the fieldwork as it will be throughout this book. We now turn then to the setting of the village so that specific topical chapters which follow will have some contextual meaning.

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Travel to Hsin Hsing village from the capital city, Taipei, is neither easy nor brief. The approximately one hundred and seventeen-mile trip to Chang-hua, the closest major city, must be made mostly by train via the seacoast or by the interior route through Taichung City. This takes about three hours by diesel express or six hours or more by a local train. It is generally possible to find a seat on the diesel express, but on the local trains one must almost always stand a good part of the way.

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Once out of Taipei the countryside is almost all rice paddies and farmland. Even in the mountain area between Taipei and Taichung, terraced rice paddies form a part of the green and lush vegetation typical of Taiwan. The train goes through a series of tunnels in these rugged mountains, and if one happens to be traveling with a Taiwanese companion, he will probably point out that these tunnels, like the railroad lines, were all built during the Japanese occupation.

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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally. 121

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen. [28] •

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population. 241
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Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the [28]

CHANGING LAND TENURE

(In the following pages this uncultivated land will not be considered, since we are concerned only with productive land.)

Neither the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers nor the actual number of farming families changed significantly as a result of the land reform. Nevertheless, there were striking internal

TABLE 13

BREAKDOWN OF TOTAL LAND CULTIVATED (OWNED AND OPERATED) AND NUMBER OF FAMILIES IN EACH CATEGORY IN Hsin Hsing VILLAGE FOR PRE-LAND REFORM (1949-1951) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

Land classification	1949-1951		1957	
	Area chia	Number of families	Area chia	Number of families
Privately owned (individual, joint, corporate)	25.8204	62	29.5567	62
Land reform land	—	—	15.3716	36
Tenanted land	35.7376	58	16.2925	38
Total number of farming families	—	92	—	90
Total land surface cultivated	61.5580	—	61.2208	—
House and other uncultivated lands	2.9909	—	2.9909	—
Total land surface owned and operated, cultivated and uncultivated	64.5489	—	64.2117	—

changes in the land tenure situation in the village, especially after the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953, which greatly affected the figures on landownership and tenancy. Privately owned land rose to 29.5567 chia (71 acres), and an additional 15.3716 chia (37 acres) of leased land sold to the former tenants under the 1953 act caused tenancy to decline to 16.2925 chia (39 acres).²

EFFECTS OF THE LAND REFORM PROGRAM

The 61.5580 chia of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers at the time of the 1949 "Regulations Governing the Lease of Private Farm Lands in Taiwan Province" was of two types: leased land and privately owned land. (See Tables 13 and 14.) Of this, 35.7376 chia, or 58.1 percent of the total, was rented by fifty-eight Hsin Hsing village households. Actually, there were a few more tenants, working a few very small plots of land, who were not recorded or given contracts in 1949. These few had been persuaded by their landlords to allow themselves to be classed as laborers instead of tenants. The remaining

[text continues on p. 101 -- Analyst]

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CHANGING LAND TENURE

432 recently represented the largest portion of land available for purchase
[427] on the open market. Even such land, however, does not necessarily add a great deal to the land market, since much of it had already been rented out.

423 The result of this static condition in the land market appears to be
556 an ossification of socioeconomic mobility within the rural area. The
178 traditional means for improving one's family's status by acquiring more and more land and the advantages which accrue to the landed are no longer so readily attainable. The main outlet now available for
[167] those who have hopes of improving their economic condition is to acquire some kind of business interest, usually outside the Hsin Hsing area, and, in such a case, those people rarely remain part of their native village.

LAND SCARCITY IN HSIN HSING AND ITS
CONSEQUENCES

423 We see that in spite of the Land Reform Program (and perhaps
161 in part because of it) and in spite of the apparent increase in the
167 productivity of the land, there has been a continuing land-population imbalance and hence an increasingly serious land scarcity in the rural area. Some of the attempts to solve this continuing problem have already been discussed here. For the remainder of this chapter we will
• [128] examine in some detail the consequences of one solution to this problem—out-migration—for the villagers, their families, and for the village as a whole, particularly in role behavior and attitudes toward the land.

Even now the problem of a growing population and a resulting land scarcity in the area has greatly affected the lives of many villagers. The most important effect has been an increased mobility to new centers of employment such as Taipei, where villagers carry on small business enterprises or more usually work as unskilled laborers. This trend
[171] toward increased mobility has already spread to other villages of the area, and is likely to become more extreme all over the island as the population pressures increase.

464 The lack of any extensive light industry in the area which could
423 absorb excess local labor leaves little alternative for families which do
166 not have enough land to support them. Even a Hsin Hsing village family which has enough land to support all its members and keep most of them occupied for the greater part of the year must nevertheless contend with the problem of agricultural slack seasons. Some of the young men and women of such families may possibly find employment in the local menthol oil factory or brickworks. Whether full- or part-time, the job is close enough to home so that the villager can go home whenever his labor is required by the family.

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Family and Kinship

The scope of the changed and extended relationships beyond the village is very evident in the examination of the family and kinship system, the life cycle, and religious and magical beliefs to which we now turn. As in the preceding chapters, it will be observed that many of the relationships that extend beyond the village, such as certain economically based connections and relations with matrilineal and affinal relatives, are not new phenomena either for the inhabitants of Hsin Hsing or for other Chinese villagers. The Chinese village has seldom been an isolated unit, and many traditional types of extended relationships common to the mainland will be evident in the structure of social relations in Hsin Hsing village. However, there are changes and modifications in these aspects of village life which can be directly related to the recent socioeconomic developments and increasing urbanization which were discussed earlier.

Chapter 5 will describe the nature and functions of the family and kinship system in the village area, while Chapter 6 will examine inter-family and interpersonal relations, especially as they extend beyond the village and affect intravillage cooperation. Chapters 7 and 8 will indicate the interaction of the above relations and the economic factors of life with the life cycle and the magical and religious beliefs and practices.

THE TSU

Fukien, the ancestral province of the residents of Hsin Hsing, is known for the predominance of the large common descent groups called *tsu* organizations. As a number of writers have pointed out (Hu, 1948:14; Chen Han-seng, 1936:37; Lang, 1946:173; de Groot, vol. 1, 1892:191) many villages in the provinces of southeastern China are inhabited exclusively by families bearing one surname, so that *tsu* and village are coterminous. In other villages which contained several *tsu*, each kept to itself in a separate neighborhood. So predominant

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Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

The importance of religion in Chinese life has long been underestimated by many Chinese and Western scholars. This underestimation is due in large part to the apparent lack of a formally organized religious system characterized by sacred and pious activities. In truth, though, a very structured system of religious (and magical) belief does exist and is functionally important in the life of the people.

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In the Hsin Hsing area (and apparently in most of rural Taiwan) this system is characterized by a strong belief in a supernatural or spiritual community which is composed of the spirits of natural objects, the spirits of ancestors and deified heroes, and evil spirits or demons, all of them able to influence or affect the lives of the villagers. The system functions to merge these entities "into a harmonious whole. The individual person not only has to fit himself into customs and institutions of the living but must adjust himself to the needs of the members of the spiritual community in order to remain *en rapport* with them so as to win the happiness he longs for" (Kulp, 1925:284).

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We have already seen something of how the material and spiritual communities are functionally integrated in various aspects of life in the Hsin Hsing area. We saw, for example, how the religious family and its associated religious rites function to buttress the precarious solidarity of the families and *tsu* groups through their periodic divisions, and how the various rites of passage, marking off the transitional phases of the villager's life cycle, help to reaffirm his identity within the family, its extensions, and the community. In this chapter, we will observe the religious and magical practices common to the area: the frequency of the supernatural rituals and the extent to which they pervade and influence village life, and the degree to which some have been modified in participation or performance or in the significance the villagers attach to them as a result of changes in other aspects of the society, especially in socioeconomic developments.

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As the villagers have begun to extend their activities and interests beyond Hsin Hsing, the village's influence on the lives of its members has deteriorated even further. The increase in activities beyond the village means that the proportion of their total activities and hence their involvement within Hsin Hsing is decreased. While the *tsu* continues to perform many of its functions within the context of the village, when its members—by necessity—become more involved beyond the village, even the *tsu*'s role must be affected. The still relatively small and rather localized Hsin Hsing village *tsu* have very limited influence or means to support their members in their needs and relationships beyond the village. And as the villagers seek to establish outside sources of solidarity and security, the *tsu* is even further affected.

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The most significant consequence of these socioeconomic developments in the Hsin Hsing area recently has therefore been an even more rapid functional deterioration in the internal village social organization. This is reflected in the decline of the village as a community and source of solidarity for its members. Along with this there has also developed a growing independence of the economic (usually conjugal) family unit from the village and even from the larger kinship group or *tsu* as well as a relatively increased independence of the individual from the family. The Hsin Hsing villagers have thus found it necessary to replace the supportive socioeconomic relations formerly based almost exclusively on village community life and kinship relationships (*tsu*) with relationships beyond the village.

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The progress of such cultural changes has been suggested throughout the book. Now I will particularize, and indicate their existence in the context of modern-day attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns towards the family unit, the *tsu* organization, the village, the land, education, and conflict resolution.

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Traditionally, the joint family was idealized. Although it often could not be realized in practice, as an ideal it was very highly valued. Division of joint families into individual small conjugal families was frowned upon, and when it did occur—as a result of internal family conflicts born of economically based problems and general poverty—it was quite common to attempt to disguise the split. Often, only the smallest degrees of division were permitted as a means of alleviating the sources of strain between the conjugal units, and when eventually a complete division had to be made, it was usually only after attempts had been made to mitigate the causes prompting it.

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Thus, although the small family was most common and the rate of family division was high, great theoretical importance was attached to the large joint family and was reflected in the villagers' behavior. In present-day rural Taiwan the rate of family division has not actually

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- ² For a more detailed discussion of attitudes towards the land, see my "Chinese Peasant Values Toward the Land." 000

Chapter 5: Family and Kinship

- ¹ Freedman's (1958:2) "inflated families" would apparently be a group of related families oriented around their kinship relationship and in which the activities of the group are aimed primarily at the maintenance of their kinship ties. For such a group, kinship is both the basis of the relationships and also an end in itself. On the other hand, a lineage (*tsu*) uses its kinship relationships as a means to an end: to tie the group members together into an organization so that they might better exert sociopolitical influence to insure their own welfare and security. Tm 618 596 602

- ² These 99 had a population of 609 persons and included members of village households who were working in Taipei. The figures, from October, 1959, will be used throughout the chapter because they are the most complete tabulations which can be used for a detailed breakdown of the village *tsu* groups and families. The figures used in the demographic section of Chapter 2 for 1958 made it possible to compare Hsin Hsing with the *hsiang* and Taiwan as a whole, since the 1959 figures for Pu Yen *hsiang* and Taiwan were not available. T 618 551 16

The decline in the general population and the number of families in Hsin Hsing which is reflected in the difference between the 1958 and 1959 figures (657 persons living in 115 households in 1958) represents the village's losses through urban migration. As noted in Chapter 4, whole families and members of families had gradually been moving to Taipei; the movement had increased somewhat in the previous two years. Further, many families which had only partially made the move now made it complete, thus changing their residence registration from Hsin Hsing to Taipei.

- ³ It is difficult from this distance to ascertain just how such arrangements were worked out among the village *tsu* organizations. Like so many other ethnographic field studies, much of what is written in this book was analyzed from data only after leaving the field. Since my field research did not focus specifically on such questions as lineage cleavages, my data often are not detailed enough to carry either the description or analyses to their logical conclusions. Therefore, all I can do in such instances is to present and analyze the data as best I can and hope that it may have some value to others. T 618 622 128

- ⁴ Included in the registration of each household unit are such data as the number of people, ages, schooling, occupations, and temporary residences. However, little of this information is kept up-to-date by the local official appointed by the Public Office to act as village secretary. In addition, much of the information recorded is simply not accurate. For example, although many village women and girls engage in full-time local outside employment or perhaps are responsible for tending the family's fields, nevertheless, almost all women are officially recorded as housewives, with no indication of what they actually do. T 592 596 217

- ⁵ These definitions by Lang (1946:14) of nuclear (conjugal) and joint family forms approximate Murdock's definitions (1949:2). The Lang definitions for 000

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

NOTE

- 128 The informants' names given in the text are coded names. If some person now living in the village of Hsiachichou or its vicinity should bear a name appearing here, this should be regarded as an accidental association. The author has in no case used the actual name of any informant quoted in this work.

* [12] areas of China allowed several distinct forms of marriage. Aside from
what we will hereafter refer to as the preferred patrilocal marriage,
[12] in which an adult woman married and became a member of her husband's
household, customs in most areas of the country also recognized some
form of matrilocal marriage.² On the plains west of Kunming Fei and
Chang found that families who had no sons, and sometimes even those
who did have sons, could arrange for a daughter to "take a husband
into her father's house, so that she may have children to perpetuate
the family line." According to local custom, the man who entered into
such a marriage "changes his surname and retains the name he receives
from his father as the last word of his personal name." His first son
would usually "take his mother's surname, but subsequent children are
free to choose their father's original surname." "If they do so,
however, they will not be entitled to inherit land from their mother's
line."³ Similarly, a family in North China might "adopt" a son-in-law
for a daughter if they did not have male offspring of their own, and
in at least some regions of the north a family whose married son died
might arrange a matrilocal marriage for their daughter-in-law. Among
the southern Chinese matrilocal institutions were even more common
and more highly differentiated. Maurice Freedman finds that even today
the Hokkien farmers of Singapore recognize at least three distinct

• [128]² Since the use of the terms "patrilocal" and "matrilocal" is standard in anthropological writing on China, I have here preferred them to the more current terms "virilocal" and "uxorilocal."

³ Hsiao-tung Fei and Chih-i Chang, *Earthbound China* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1948), p. 113.

* [12] While we cannot agree with their curious assumption that the term "psychological" labels a form of behavior rather than an interpretation of behavior, it is nonetheless interesting to see how far one can go towards an interpretation of decisions about marriage and adoption without reference to psychology. Are the concepts developed in structural studies entirely adequate to account for such decisions, or must one also refer to the needs of the individual as an organism and the dispositions formed by the experiences of a lifetime?

Our strategy in attempting to answer these and other questions which we will raise along the way will be to compare the decisions made by families of varying types. Do those families who choose to adopt a girl and raise her as a wife for their son differ in any way from those who decide to marry their son in the preferred way? Are there any consistent differences between those families who marry their daughters matrilocally and those who do not? Do those girls who are raised by their natal families possess any characteristics which distinguish them from girls given in adoption? Unfortunately, we do not always know as much about these decisions as we would like to know. Many of them were made as long as seventy years ago, and the persons responsible were either dead or unavailable at the time of our study.

[123] Although it would be ideal to have detailed information about the
[126] situation of the family at the time each decision was made, we will ordinarily have to depend upon after the fact statements and such information as is contained in genealogies collected in 1960.

CHAPTER 3

THE PREFERRED MARRIAGE

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The institutions of the village of Hsiachichou are similar to those of China in general in that they allow a variety of means of marriage and adoption. A family with a son may adopt a female child and raise her as his wife, or they may wait until he is an adult and then look for a wife. A family with a daughter may give her away in adoption as a child, or they may raise her as a member of the family and later choose between a patrilocal or matrilocal marriage. The institutions of the community give scope for the formation of a great variety of genealogical patterns. Our task here will be to trace the genealogical history of Hsiachichou during the course of the past sixty years in an attempt to determine what some of the factors were which went into the formation of this particular pattern. Given the existence of institutions which encourage certain social arrangements and discourage others, and recognizing that the range of choice is partially determined by vagaries of human genetics, we will attempt to discover why the people of Hsiachichou chose to arrange their social world in the way they did.

Our first step in this direction will be to describe the institutions of marriage and adoption as they existed in Hsiachichou during the period 1870-1960. The genealogical decisions made by individual families arose as choices between alternative forms of marriage and adoption, and we will need to understand the nature of these institutions

* 121 in order to understand why village families acted in the way they did.

* 597 What are the various forms of marriage? How are they arranged? By

• 128 whom are they arranged? What obligations and expectations do they
58 create? What rituals are associated with each form of marriage?

What is the meaning of these rituals? The answers to these questions naturally depend in part upon whether we are talking about 1870 or

[198] 1960. The bride of 1870 traveled to her husband's home in a sedan chair carried by several strong men; the bride of 1960 made the trip in a hired car at the head of a caravan of taxis. There have also been some adjustments in the rituals of marriage and adoption, but by and large the rules which governed these social transfers were still recognized and accepted in Hsiachichou in 1960. We will therefore describe these institutions as though we were dealing with a single point in time rather than with a period of ninety years.

* 583 Although we are not prepared here to argue why it should be so,
183 it is clear that what we have called the preferred patrilocal marriage
591 is the more socially desirable form of marriage in Hsiachichou. It is
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the preferred form in the sense that it is the form of marriage which everyone would choose if form were the only consideration. When the villagers speak of marriage in general, they always mean the preferred patrilocal form of marriage, and the assumption that it is the form of marriage is clearly not new. The ritual procedures for enacting the preferred form of marriage are much more elaborate than for any of the other forms of marriage, and the villagers themselves regard the ritual associated with these other forms of marriage as having been modeled

- *597 poor to adopt a child simply to aid with household chores, and in the
184 post-war years government regulations have discouraged those few
*597 families who might have considered such an adoption. Our concern here
• 128 will therefore be primarily with four forms of adoption, two forms
of male adoption and two forms of female adoption. Since English
does not provide vocabulary adequate for labeling these institutions,
we will have to employ the Chinese terminology in order to avoid long
and clumsy paraphrasing. The adoption of a male child from an agnate,
we will refer to as the kùe-páng-kiá: form of adoption, and the adoption
of a male child from a non-agnate, the biāng-liāng-kiá: form of adoption.
The form of adoption which makes a female child a potential wife of a
son of the adopting family we will term the sīm-pūá form of adoption,
or the sīm-pua form of marriage, since it is both; and the form of
adoption which gives a female child the same status she would have had
if she had been born into the family we will refer to as the lōng-lū
form of adoption, although it must be remembered that in Hsiachichou
adopted daughters of this kind are more commonly referred to as
sīm-pūá and are treated ritually as though they were sīm-pūá.

*121 in which all of the members of the kô have a legitimate interest.
*592 Who actually makes these decisions depends upon the composition of the
*584 kô at the time the decision is made and who at that time is responsible
*597 for family policy. If a man's father and mother are members of the kô
at the time his wife bears a child, and if they also occupy positions
of authority in the family, the decision to give the child away may
be their decision; but, on the other hand, if the man's parents are
not members of his kô, or if the authority of the kô is at that time no
longer in their hands, the decision may be made by the man or his wife.
Both situations occur commonly in Hsiachichou.

This variation obviously complicates the analysis of the problem
we set for ourselves. In attempting to analyze the factors which enter
into decisions about marriage and adoption, we are asking what people's
motives are for choosing between various institutionalized alternatives,
and these are obviously going to vary with the identity of the deci-
sion makers. A man looking for a wife will probably consider different
qualifications than will his mother looking for a daughter-in-law, and
a mother thinking of giving away one of her children is likely to be
influenced by very different considerations than her mother-in-law

*121 might be in deciding whether or not to give away a grandchild.
*592 Ideally, we would like to know who made each of the decisions with
*128 which we are concerned. Unfortunately, this information is not
available. Many of the decisions were made fifty or sixty years ago,
so that even if they were willing to tell us, no one in Hsiachichou
knows the answer. Furthermore, the original research from which these

*121 data are taken was not designed with this problem in mind, and so we
*592 do not have complete information for even those recent decisions
• 128 which people might remember. We will therefore have to be satisfied
with inferences based upon our knowledge of the structure of the kə
and the way in which this structure has changed during the past sixty
years. While such inferences will obviously not be entirely accurate,
they will probably not be very much less accurate than the villager's
own reports. People are not only unlikely to remember the details of
events which took place thirty or forty years earlier in their lives,
but when these events involved decisions about such emotionally signi-
ficant matters as marriage and adoption such memories as they have are
likely to be distorted.

Initially then, we must determine who is usually present in the
kə at the time decisions concerning marriage and adoption are made.
We speak specifically of the time at which these decisions are made
because the composition of the kə varies over time in a cyclical manner.

*592 Given the vagaries of nature, there are, of course, many variations in
[178] the cycle, but, in general, the cycle repeats itself in a period of
approximately twenty to twenty-five years and includes three phases,
the joint family, the stem family, and the elementary family.

596 In the joint family phase, the kə typically consists of a man and
his wife, their married sons and their wives and children, and perhaps
an unmarried son or daughter. The father of such a family will usually
be a man in his late forties or early fifties; his wife, a few years
younger; and his sons and their wives young people in their early

176 the local bootligans took it upon themselves to severely beat a man seen
882 walking hand in hand with a village girl. Despite such reservations,
however, there is now a good deal more contact between unmarried people
than ever before. It is not uncommon and causes very little comment
in the village to see groups of four or five young men and women walk-
ing together toward the local market town. Some of the young people
from the village have even organized their own dancing parties without
completely destroying their good names.

* 584 In some cases parents still make the primary decisions regarding
* 593 marriage, and in many more cases their opposition to a proposed match
178 is enough to prevent it. This is particularly true in the case of
girls who do not, after all, have the position in the family that a
son does, and remain under much more effective parental control. For
the most part, however, the marriages that have taken place since 1940
have involved the principals in a much more active role. Of the 51
marriages that have taken place in this period, 24 (47 percent) have
been completely arranged by the young people, and the great majority
of those that have not been completely the couple's doing have taken
place only after their approval was given. In some cases, particularly
with the young men, the parental choice resulted from their own abro-
gation of their new "rights". In the case of the girls, the exceptions
belong primarily to a particular type of marriage in which the parents
are forced by the circumstances of their situation to retain their
authority and use every technique in their power to arrange the
• 128 marriage they consider best. We will discuss these exceptions in more
178
+ 584

+584
178 detail when in later chapters we turn to the effect of these changes
• 128 upon the marriage patterns.

+592 To summarize, then, we may say that at the time at which most of
+584 the decisions which interest us here are made the kf includes at
+599 least two adult generations. In the case of marriage they are the
178 parents and their adult children, and in the case of adoption they are
the foster parents and the foster grandparents. When we ask which of
these people made the decision we must specify the period of time at
which the decision was made. By and large, the decisions about
marriage and adoptions that were made before 1930 were made by the
senior generations, while after 1930 these decisions were made by the
younger people in the family. We shall see later that this change has
had an important effect upon the kinds of decisions which are made
and upon the kinds of considerations which enter into these decisions.

CHAPTER 7

DECISIONS BY GRANDPARENTS

4597
● 128 When a child is born in Hsiachichou his natal family has the choice
[851] of raising him as a member of the household, or giving him in one or
another of the various forms of adoption. How often do people in
Hsiachichou choose to give away their children? How often do they
relinquish their male children, and how often do they part with their
female children? When they choose to give away a male child, do they
usually give him in adoption to an agnate or sell him to a stranger
or a dealer? Are female children usually married out of the family
as "little daughters-in-law," or are they more commonly sold to fami-
lies which want a daughter? Are some children more likely to be given
out in adoption than others? If so, what are some of the considerations
4597 which increase a child's chance of adoption? As a result of changes
128 which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past
178 several decades, the answers to these questions depend in large part
on whether we are looking at decisions made early in the century or
those made more recently. We will therefore begin by considering those
decisions made in the years before 1930, and will leave until the
following chapter those decisions made after 1930.

178
511 Before 1930 the village of Hsiachichou was a poor if not an im-
463 poverished community. Although most of the villagers earned their
living as farmers, no family owned more than one acre of land, and most

*583 As the villagers themselves often say, "It is better to look at."

Other things being equal, then, every family would choose the preferred form of marriage. Unfortunately for the people of Hsiachichou other things are seldom equal. There are considerations other than propriety and prestige which a family must take into account in choosing between the two forms of marriage. As we shall see in the next

*584
198 chapter, the advantages of the sīm-pūā marriage relevant to these other considerations have been largely lost in the last three decades, but before 1930 these advantages were such that decisions in favor of the sīm-pūā marriage were almost as common as those in favor of the preferred form of marriage. Of 98 men who were born in Hsiachichou prior to 1930 at least 41 (42 percent) were paired with sīm-pūā, and it is likely that the number of decisions for this form of marriage were even

• [125] higher than these figures indicate. There were undoubtedly a number of such adoptions that we did not learn of because the girl died in infancy, and there were possibly other cases in which the child's parents demanded her return because of ill treatment -- a contingency that would make the boy's family reluctant to mention the fact of the adoption. We would probably be closer to the mark to say that half of those decisions made before 1930 were in favor of the sīm-pūā marriage.

*583 When asked why they adopted a sīm-pūā for a son, villagers usually
*584
435 begin by mentioning economic considerations. "We were so poor that there was nothing else we could do," or "We had so many children that we couldn't afford marriages for all of them." The expenses of the

533 Moreover, the family which cannot really afford the expense of the
534 preferred marriages takes the risk of not being able to find a
553 daughter-in-law. Knowing that the prospective groom's family cannot
554 afford a generous bride price and an elaborate wedding, many families
will be unwilling to give their daughters in marriage. To be allied
to such a family would reflect unfavorably upon their own social posi-
tion. As we have mentioned earlier, a family will occasionally
economize by holding the engagement and the wedding on the same day,
but such marriages are not easily arranged and are certainly not common.
In one instance in which such an arrangement occurred in Hsiachichou
the bride was at least six months pregnant, so that her parents obviously
had little to say about their choice of in-laws.

The preferred form of marriage is, then, the favored form of
marriage. It gives the family who can afford such a marriage the
satisfaction of having proceeded in the proper way, and it also has
the advantage of enhancing their position in the eyes of the relatives
and neighbors. In so far as the form of marriage itself is concerned
the sīm-pūā marriage is clearly a second choice, but it does have the

[556] compensation of being considerably less expensive. We should there-
fore expect wealthy families to choose the more prestigious preferred
marriage for their sons, while poor families might be expected to
choose the less ostentatious but cheaper sīm-pūā form of marriage.

Unfortunately, we cannot test this hypothesis in the case of Hsiachichou.

[129] We do not have the information to compare families of the pre-1930
period in terms of their relative incomes, and in the post-1930 period

*583 only a very few sīm-pūā adoptions took place. These do all happen to
*584 be among the poorer families of the village, but the numbers are so
559 small that there is no possibility of a reliable test of the relation-
558 ship. Until such time as data is collected in other communities which
• 128 are demonstrably richer or poorer than Hsiachichou forty years ago,
we will have to be content with the villagers own statements that the
relative cost of the two forms of marriage was one of the factors which
they took into account in making their decisions.

*583 One thing, however, is clear. Although it is likely that eco-
*584 nomic considerations played a large role in the choice between the two
556 forms of marriage, these are by no means the only considerations which
entered into the decision. The poor may have chosen the sīm-pūā
marriage more often than the wealthy, but there were nonetheless
many wealthy families which preferred this form of marriage. A family
which was wealthy enough to build the first brick house in Hsiachichou
adopted a sīm-pūā for one of their sons, and the three families with
the largest land holdings in Hsiachichou in the pre-war period adopted
sīm-pūā for three of their six sons. There would seem to be no ques-
tion that these families could have afforded the more prestigious pre-
ferred form of marriage, and yet in some cases all chose the less
prestigious sīm-pūā marriage. We also know of several cases of truly
wealthy families living in the market town who adopted sīm-pūā for one
or more of their sons. One of these families was the largest land-
owner in the area, and was obviously not deterred by the cost of the
preferred form of marriage. Since one would expect the very wealthy to

CHAPTER 13
THE EXCEPTIONS

• 128 The great majority of the people of Hsiachichou marry young and
183 early in their marriage bear the children who will perpetuate their
58 family line and support them in their old age. Occasionally, however,
it happens that a man or woman does not marry, or, more often, that
[54] they do not marry until later in life. Also, there have been a number
of women in Hsiachichou whose lives have departed from the normal
pattern as a result of their having been forced to work as prostitutes.
Since the situation of these people is obviously very different from
that of the person who married at the normal time, we have thus far
largely excluded them from our discussion of marriage and adoption.
To fill this lacuna in our analysis, we will consider some of the
conditions which create these exceptions. Why do some men and women
never marry, and why is it that a number of women work for a time as
prostitutes? Secondly, we will look at the decisions these people
make about male and female adoption. How often do they adopt children,
and what are some of the considerations which enter into their deci-
sions? Finally, we will be interested in the effects of prostitution
upon the family. How does the family in which a daughter is forced
to work as a prostitute differ from one in which she marries in the
normal way? While recognizing that prostitutes and the unmarried
constitute exceptions to the villagers' expectations, we will attempt
to show that these exceptions follow a regular pattern.

Preface

ix

interviews many times that length. Without her, many of the more detailed conversations would never have been recorded. Her talents extended beyond those of the inconspicuous interpreter and ambulatory tape-recorder. Her capacity to appear unimportant but sympathetic made her the confidante of many and, for me, a library of information about local attitudes toward people and their lives. 114 124

I am not an anthropologist, but this book has benefited from several careful readings by an anthropologist who knows the Lims as well as I. In the pages that follow I have tried to do three things: to present a case study for the social scientist interested in the strains inherent to the form of family considered ideal in China, to provide another account of village life for those with a more general interest in China, and to tell a good story. I have depended heavily upon my husband's advice as to the information important to a case study, made my own judgements as to what might interest the general reader about life in a Taiwanese village, and left the story to the Lims. [14] [28]

Books such as Ida Pruitt's *Daughter of Han* and Lin Yueh-hwa's *The Golden Wing* have made major contributions to our understanding of China. It is, after all, the nameless and the unimportant who make up the society over which leaders and politicians debate. The statesmen may control a country's temporal fate, but its existence over time depends upon the farmer, the peddler, the noodle-maker. China's history over the centuries has varied with the strength of its leaders, but its people have gone on being Chinese, whoever the ruler, whatever the political crises. I hope that in some small way this study of an unimportant family may add to our understanding of what being Chinese is all about.

On every page of this book there is evidence of the debt I owe the people of Peihotien, both Lims and non-Lims. Less apparent is the contribution of our field staff, but their patience, endurance, and plain hard work will always be remembered with gratitude. This includes the small dragon who ruled our kitchen, balanced our budget, corrected our table manners, and sewed on our buttons. My husband, Arthur Wolf, deserves more than thanks. Without him, there would have been no House of Lim—unless he had written it himself. Thanks are due to many people who read and criticized early drafts, in particular: Mrs. Pi-yung Hsu who spent many hours selecting authentic, even though fictitious, Taiwanese names; Mrs. Sidney Meller for the difficult reading of a first draft; 114 126

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

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Preface

- 123 and Dr. Arthur Vidich for his many valuable suggestions. I am also
[22] indebted to the Cornell committee of the London-Cornell Project for
the funds they made available to me for secretarial help.

M.W.

PEOPLE AND PLACES

All of the surnames and personal names in this book are pseudonyms. ¹⁰⁴
They are written according to Chinese custom: surname preceding per- ¹²⁸ •
sonal names. All names except for the one man who was born on the
mainland of China are Hokkien and are romanized according to the
system devised by Nicholas C. Bodman in his text, *Spoken Amoy Hokkien*
(Charles Grenier & Son Ltd., Kuala Lumpur, 1955). Tone marks and
other linguistic devices have been omitted.

Place names other than that of Taiwan and its major cities are also
fictitious. They are written in a standard romanization of Mandarin,
using the post office spelling now customary among students of China.

THE PLACES

Chuanchou	A district in Fukien from which the Lim family migrated
Hotien	The district in which Peihotien is located
Lungyen	A small city near Peihotien
Nanhotien	Another village in the Hotien district
Peihotien	The village in which the Lim family lives
Tainan	A large city in the southern part of the island
Taipei	Capital of Taiwan
Tapu	The market town which serves Peihotien
Tungan	A section of the Chuanchou district in Fukien

THE PEOPLE

Chang Jong-kuei	A mainlander, married to Gioq-ki	123
Iu Mui-mue	Lim Han-ci's third adopted daughter; adopted to marry Lim Chieng-cua but did not do so	115
Lau Bit	Daughter of Lau Kim-chiok, Lim Chieng-cua's former mistress	
Lau Kim-chiok	Mistress of Lim Chieng-cua	

[RMIX]

xx

People and Places

• 128	Li Guat-ngo	Adopted daughter of Lim A-pou
115	Lim A-bok	First born son of Lim Hue-lieng and his adopted sister, A-pou
	Lim A-hua	Adopted daughter of Lim Hue-lieng and his second wife, So-lan
	Lim A-ki	Wife of A-bok
	Lim A-pou	Lim Han-ci's first adopted daughter; wife of Lim Hue-lieng
	Lim Bieng-cu	Second daughter, fifth child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng
	Lim Chieng-cua	Second son of Lim Han-ci; present head of the house of Lim
	Lim Chui-ieng	Wife of Lim Chieng-cua
	Lim Cin-hok	Fourth son, sixth child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng
	Lim Gioq-ki	Oldest daughter of Lim Hue-lieng and his second wife, So-lan; only child born to them
	Lim Han-ci	The father
	Lim Hue-lieng	Eldest son of Lim Han-ci
	Lim Kim-hok	First born son of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng
	Lim Kui-hok	Third son, fourth child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng
	Lim Le-cu	First daughter, second child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng
	Lim Masa	Second son of Lim Hue-lieng and his adopted sister, A-pou
	Lim So-lan	Second wife of Lim Hue-lieng
	Lim Thiam-hok	Second son, third child of Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Chui-ieng
	Ng Kok-hua	Son of Ng Kui-lian; proprietor of Peihotien's store
	Ng Kui-lian	Go-between for marriage of Lim Chieng-cua and Chui-ieng
	Tan A-hong	Lim Han-ci's second adopted daughter who was re-sold when his own daughter was returned
	Tan Chai-ngo	Second-born daughter of Tan A-hong
	Tan Chun-ieng	First-born daughter of Tan A-hong

ABSTRACT

**AN ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF
SANLEI TS'UN, TAIWAN
WITH EMPHASIS ON WOMEN'S ROLES**

**OVERCOMING RESEARCH PROBLEMS
CAUSED BY THE PRESENCE OF
A GREAT TRADITION**

By

William Kester Barnett

121

Evidence from a 1965-67 field study conducted in a rural Taiwanese village suggested that the structural position of women was not inferior to men to the extent described in most previous reports or the literature of the Great Tradition of China. A detailed statement of the discrepancies, reasons for their occurrence, and suggestions for reducing misinterpretations in the future are provided.

• 128

The largest portion of the four logical divisions of this report contains a typical ethnography of a Hokkien village in the rice-tea-orange region of northern Taiwan, based on nineteen months of field work employing standard anthropological techniques such as participant-observation, mapping, census, life histories, and open-ended interview schedules.

121

128

The second portion contrasts the canons of the Great Tradition which contend Chinese women were expected to be uneducated, economically useless, subordinate, submissive, obedient, reticent, passive, and timid, with research data from Sanlei Ts'un where many women were educated, most were

[Introductory piii]

- 121 economically important, and several were family despots.
- 128 Other Chinese ethnographies indicate that Sanlei is not deviant for each contains considerable data which support the latter description despite the fact the data is in conflict with the author's summary regarding female status. A few sources explicitly claim the case for the lowly position of women in China has been overstated.

The third portion establishes how the errors in interpretation come about. One primary cause relates to the frequent anthropological emphasis on persisting aspects of social structure with a corresponding, but not necessary, focus on "ideal" rather than "real" culture; but more important, the presence of a Great Tradition which is expressed in a literary record generates problems for valid anthropological research in high civilizations. Indigenous scholars and foreign anthropologists alike become steeped in the "ideal" culture described by a society's Great Tradition before commencing field work. According to cognitive dissonance theory, it is extremely difficult to overcome any belief once it becomes internalized, i.e., any evidence contrary to existing knowledge tends to be ignored or denied. Therefore, both evidence and conclusions derived from research in civilizations by "specialists" probably will be unconsciously biased in favor of the Great Tradition.

The last major section is devoted to four suggestions for preventing further misinterpretations. The first supports added attention to concrete enumeration of rates

[Introductory p. iv]

- 121 and cases as part of the increased attention to research
• 128 methodology and reduced reliance on impressions.

The second advocates increased employment of the processural approach featuring extended case studies which place other analysts one step nearer to the social facts than conventional approaches, i.e., at the level of reading observational reports rather than abstractions.

The third and fourth proposals are two sides of the same coin. In order to maintain traditional anthropological objectivity which was customarily partially based on cross-cultural research, and yet, in order to obtain the advantages accruing from specialization in a Great Tradition, specialists should be encouraged to punctuate field activities in their special civilization by entering a third culture for comparative purposes, and conversely, other ethnographers should be encouraged to conduct research in high civilizations outside their areas of expertise. Specialization in a single society is probably dysfunctional for anthropology as presently practiced.

Nevertheless, undue pessimism is not fully warranted as demonstrated by several breakthroughs with new interpretations of Chinese cultural materials despite their conflicts with ideals expressed in the Great Tradition, i.e., in family composition, importance of affinal relations, nature of lineage organizations, etc. Further research is expected to support the contention that the status of women in China is not actually as low as was commonly accepted.

[Introductory p.v]

114 often provided intellectual stimulation. The late Professor
122 Chen Shao-hsing, a sociologist, and Professor Chen Chi-lu,
an anthropologist, graciously served as our sponsors. Pro-
fessors Shih Chien-sheng, Dean of the Law School, National
Taiwan University, and Mei Ke-wang of the Central Police
College furnished many helpful introductions. Much valuable
data derived from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruc-
tion and the United States Information Service. Our major
assistants, Jerry Lai, Jason Chi, and Pearl Hsieh must be
commended. However, the greatest debt is due to the people
who lived in the village I studied and in the other four
villages which comprise the administrative unit in which it
is located. They took us into their homes and into their
hearts and made us a meaningful part of the community.

114 My professional training has been in the Departments
of Anthropology and Sociology at Michigan State University.
Those who were most influential in effecting my scholarly
interests were Drs. John Donoghue, John Gullahorn, and
Ralph Nicholas. Also generous with time and valuable advice
were Drs. Moreau Maxwell and Iwao Ishino of the Department
of Anthropology and Dr. William Ross, the Director of the
Asian Studies Center.

114 Professor Bernard Gallin has expended a great deal of
128 time and intellectual energy in suggesting improvements in
this dissertation. Some of these suggestions have concerned
matters of detail and some of them have concerned fundamental
structural and organizational problems. In the time avail-
able to me, I have not been able to take account of all of

114 these suggestions although I believe that they would have
128 made the thesis significantly better than it is now. I
apologize to Professor Gallin and to readers for defects
that could have been remedied if I had made the improve-
ments that he suggested. I plan to make the recommended
changes as portions of the dissertation are revised for
publication.

Finally, I am greatly indebted to my family. My
wife, Nancy McMillin Barnett, provided professional assis-
tance as a fellow anthropology graduate student as well as
incredible amounts of patience, encouragement, and under-
standing. My two children, Beth and Sidney, not only en-
dured what might have been regarded as the relative hard-
ship of life in a rural Taiwanese village, they thoroughly
enjoyed it, made many friends of their own, and helped make
our stay a most enjoyable one. My parents, Betty and Bill,
and my mother-in-law, Mary, never deviated from a constant
faith in my ability far beyond my own.

Please forgive the unfortunate errors of omission for
my debt to so many is too great to be recognized or repaid
other than indirectly, by a dedication to scholarship and
service to others, in order to transmit the benefits to
the next generation.

Iowa City, Iowa
May, 1970

WKB

LIST OF SYMBOLS

• 128
601



Male



Female



Deceased
Male



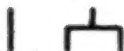
Deceased
Female



Marriage



Divorce



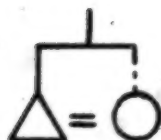
Descent



Adoption



Departed via
Migration or
Adoption



Adopted
Daughter
Marriage
(Siaosiv)



Adopted-in
Husband
Marriage
(Chao fu)

PREFACE

• 128 As is customary in anthropological reporting, fictitious names have been employed in order to protect the subjects from ready identification. Additionally, although the names of large cities and towns are correct, the names of all small communities including the subject village (ts'un) are disguised.

632 The subject village is one of five villages which are united to form a single li, a Chinese administrative unit for which there is no English equivalent. Roughly, it may be defined as the smallest political unit which possesses both an elected head and an elected representative to the next higher administrative level. For the sake of simplicity, Talei or Talei Li will be used to refer to this li although in proper Chinese, it would be Ta Lei Li (Big Port Li).

128
104 In accordance with a common Chinese pattern, I have derived names of the five villages in Talei Li from the li name. The five villages are numbered in ascending order from north to south and the number is then combined with the second character of the li name to yield respective village names of T'oulei, Erhlei, Sanlei, Szulei, and Wulei. In proper Chinese, all five would match the pattern which is

- 128 indicated for the subject village of the study: San Lei
104 Ts'un (Third Port Village). Both Sanlei and Sanlei Ts'un
are used interchangeably.

128 In addition, the names of all village residents are
pseudonyms. Since each name represents a real person
rather than a composite or statistical average, an assigned
name is used consistently throughout the report with
reference to any real named individual. Consequently, any
material which might be considered injurious or which could
prove embarrassing is not identified with any of the named
individuals.

104 In accordance with several previous anthropological
128 reports pertaining to Taiwan, Mandarin has been employed
for all native terms romanized according to the Wade-Giles
[197] system. This was accomplished in spite of the fact that
the normal mode of discourse in the subject village as in
the majority of Taiwanese villages is in Min-nan Hwa
(Taiwanese). Taiwanese terms for which there are no
Mandarin equivalent are romanized according to the Douglas
system. Three glossaries are provided: Glossary A con-
sists of proper place names in Mandarin and characters.
Since the names are in common use in literature and for
postal addresses, no Taiwanese equivalent is provided.
Glossary B consists of words and short phrases in Mandarin,
Taiwanese, English, and characters arranged alphabetically
according to the romanized Mandarin. Glossary C includes
characters and English for the longer phrases and sentences.

124 with villagers who had migrated to the city of Taipei, about half during their visits to the village and half in their city homes.

121 Approach to the Problem

- 128 A key term necessarily employed frequently in this report is "role." Since the term often has been assigned a number of different meanings, I shall employ the following definition in an attempt to avoid confusion:

As an aspect of social structure, a role may be defined as a named social position characterized by a set of (a) personal qualities and (b) activities, the set being normatively evaluated to some degree both by those in the situation and others (Sweetser, 1964:609).

This definition does not maintain the distinction between status and role originated by Linton (1936:113-4) and expanded by others (Parsons, 1951:25; Radcliffe-Brown, 1952:11), i.e., status refers to the position and role to the behavior associated with it. Nadel's argument that it is pointless to separate a rule of behavior from its application is most convincing (1957:20-44) so I have combined status and role.

Roles do not exist in isolation. To identify a single role is always to identify by implication another role with which it is engaged in interaction patterns. For example, a teacher implies a student and a parent, a child. Merton proposes that role-set be used where a status entails more than one social relationship (1957:

121 368-9). I include the concept of role-set in my definition of role for there would be few roles which would not involve several social positions. A public school teacher in American society necessarily relates to such positions as student, colleague, and principal. She also probably relates on a secondary level to parents, board members, union officials, etc.

Since this study is of a small rural village, most relationships are inclusive and serial, termed by Gluckman "multiplex" (1964). By this he means that when two people interact in a multiplex relationship, it is likely that a large number of role relationships are involved. Although roles are not synonymous with people, each person may be examined analytically as if he were a bundle of roles. The characteristics of the bundle effect role behavior as does the personality of the individual. Part of the concept of role includes the idea of a script for acting. Some scripts are very explicit and others, quite general. Each individual follows his script somewhat differently. The major role I examine in the study is that of adult female. This role can be divided analytically into narrower roles such as wife, mother, aunt, girl-friend, customer, etc. The major relationship studied is between the adult female and the adult male, the latter similarly susceptible to finer distinctions. Abstraction at the highest level, i.e., male-female relationships, is attempted

121 although detailed data at lower levels are provided.

• 128

The next eight chapters contain an ethnographic description of Sanlei, a village in Taiwan, with particular emphasis on the role of women. The last chapter presents the general abstraction discussed in the above paragraph and contrasts it with an abstraction from the traditional literature. Possible reasons for the discrepancy between the two abstractions are considered and rejected in favor of the theoretical position advanced at the beginning of this chapter, i.e., the presence of a "Great Tradition" and its effects on the anthropological field worker. Implications for future research are then considered and a series of suggestions for reducing future errors are advanced.

163

434 greater than the increase in population (K. T. Chen, 1967:
439 98).

163

Sanlei demographic records for 1966 during our
165 study indicate that the village does not deviate much from
the total island figures indicated in Table 2. Thirteen
births yield a rate of 31.8 and seven deaths, a rate of
11.9, for a combined natural increase of 19.9. This in-
crease, lower than the total island figure of 23.0, is
partly due to the larger numbers of old people in the vil-
lage and also due to the missing people in prime child-
[161] bearing ages. However, the mid-year population of 409, a
very small "n," does not really allow for meaningful con-
trasts, i.e., one more birth would have meant nearly
[842] identical increase rates. Many village women are now prac-
[582] ticing birth control and the average age at marriage is
also creeping upwards, both factors contributing to the
trend to a smaller rate of natural increase.

Social Organization

• 128

Chapters IV through VI are devoted to selected as-
pects of social organization: formal organization and
social control, kinship, and voluntary organization. A
brief summary of the three chapters is presented below in
order to set the stage in a general way both for this
overview and to make each chapter fit into the context
of the whole.

CHAPTER IV

FORMAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

- 128 The social organization of Sanlei can be broken
621 into three logical divisions: formal organization, kin-
571 ship, and voluntary associations. The first division, con-
602 cerned with governmental or quasi-governmental units, is
182 the topic of this chapter with the other two following in
turn, one chapter each. This separation into three sec-
tions is an analytical device adopted in this paper for
convenience. In village social life, all three divisions
are inter-dependent and inter-twined. It is extremely
difficult to categorize a concrete unit of behavior into
only one of the three divisions. For example, a man
votes (formal organization) for his cousin (kinship) who
is a sworn brother (voluntary association). Both formal
and informal mechanisms of social control will also be
considered in this chapter because, in the context of the
village, they are nearly impossible to analytically sepa-
rate and furthermore, both are an intimate part of formal
social organization.

- 128 This chapter provides a picture of the family and
602 larger kinship organizations in Sanlei Ts'un. The Chinese
system is usually classified as patrilocal, patrilineal,
[769] and patriarchal (Murdock, 1967:194-7). Religious values,
particularly the worship of ancestors, support continua-
tion of the family along the male line.¹ Families are
combined into larger agnatic groups. Although these gen-
eral values are important, it will be demonstrated that
compromises are often made with some aspects to achieve
others which have higher ratings. Birth, marriage, and
adoption are all processes which can be used to create
and enlarge kinship units. We shall see how family units
use these processes strategically to achieve certain
goals.

The chapter will begin with a description of the
nature and distribution of family types in Sanlei Ts'un
followed by a consideration of the nature of the role of
family head, particularly with reference to sex differ-
ences. A discussion of the forms and processes which
change the family composition and their present distribu-
tion in the village completes the static picture of the
family. There follows a dynamic view of the various types
of family life cycles in Sanlei which draws on specific
underlying values in the village, the cultural processes
available, and the demographic factors affecting Taiwanese

- 128 village populations. Finally, the structure and function
602 of larger agnatic units are considered.

Family versus Household

592 According to Lang, the economic family, the chia, is a "unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (1946:13). The chia is sometimes contrasted with the household, the hu, which could include such temporary residents as more distant relatives, servants, or workers. If common-law marriages are included along with regular marriage since they are so accepted in the village, the chia and hu are always identical in Sanlei Ts'un. Both the Sanlei villagers and I agree that the chia and hu in Sanlei are identical, consisting of the group who live together, share economics, and cook and eat together as a regular practice.

Household Registration

217 Formal population registration is required for all
659 people in Taiwan. Sanlei records are maintained in the township office in Hsin Tien. The record, which is maintained by hu as the unit of registration, includes an identification number, the address of the family, the name of the head of the household (chia chang), and a brief history of the family including such information as relocations, divisions, etc. For each individual in the

Death and Beyond

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134 Death and burial have often been described for Chinese communities (Gallin, 1966:219-30; Pei, 1939:75-9; M. Yang, 1945:86-90; C. K. Yang, 1967:28-53). Although there are regional differences, significant elements are reasonably similar in Sanlei and due to limited space, the below account will not be detailed nor elaborate. Instead, remarks are restricted to particular local variations not adequately described in the literature or to those which bear directly on the problem focus of the paper. The reader is referred to the literature for more complete accounts.

764 Death ritual varies in accordance with age, sex, marital situation, the number of descendants, and the financial status of the family. In general, the greater the wealth, age, and/or number of descendants, the larger and
766 more elaborate the ceremony. As already stated, death before reaching the first thirty days of age is not ritualized at all and the death of a child at any age is seldom accompanied by any ceremony. There is considerable resentment
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562 directed against a male who lived some years but died before producing offspring for villagers claim he has cheated his parents by failing to repay their investment in him with grandchildren. There is no corresponding attitude toward the early death of females unless they have only a few siblings, none of whom are males, and in this case, the resentment is related to the fact that there were plans for an

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

- 128 The immediately preceding eight chapters constitute
562 a brief ethnographic description of Sanlei Ts'un with particular attention focused on the role of women. The role behavior of women is quite unlike the brief description abstracted from traditional accounts which was considered in the first chapter. Provided below is a more extensive review of the traditional literature followed by an explicit contrast with the observed female behavior patterns in the subject village. Although part of the differences between observed and expected role behavior may be due to regional variations and the cultural and social changes accompanying modernization and industrialization, it will be demonstrated that the previous case for the lowly position of women has been exaggerated. The last section of the chapter explores possible reasons for the errors and concludes with a suggestion for further research.

Traditional Accounts of the Position of Women

- 114 Perhaps the best manner to capture the flavor and
562 fact of traditional accounts explicating the role of women